Author Accepted Manuscript: Journal of Rural Studies

Jessica Paddock

Changing consumption, changing tastes? Exploring consumer narratives for food secure, sustainable and healthy diets

Sustainable Consumption Institute, University of Manchester

Abstract

Mirroring trends across the Caribbean and the West Indies, the Turks and Caicos Islands are seeing an increase in the consumption of foods associated with diet-related disease and ill-health such as diabetes, obesity, hypertension and heart disease. These shifts are often attributed to the changing food preferences of consumers, as islanders are thought to be aspiring to a modern and 'Americanised' diet. Drawing on accounts derived from group and individual interviews with Turks and Caicos islanders – chiefly the women who are responsible for feeding work - this paper unpacks the notion that changing diets are a symptom of shifting tastes and preferences. Rather, narratives point to interlocking ecological, economic and social shifts that over time compound the effects of losing access to a culturally valued local source of healthy protein: fish and seafood. Taking an ecofeminist sociological perspective, this paper argues that challenges of food insecurity and diet-related ill-health share both mutual problems and pathways to common solutions.

Keywords: Consumption, production, food security, ecofeminism, sustainability.

1. Introduction

Problematizing the notion that changing diets are a symptom of shifting tastes and preferences, this paper discusses data derived from case-study research conducted across a tropical small island archipelago: the Turks and Caicos Islands (TCI), West Indies. TCI is composed of 40 different islands and cays, only 8 of which are inhabited; five of which have major population centres on the islands of Providenciales, South Caicos, North Caicos, Middle Caicos and Grand Turk. While the imaginary of the Caribbean and West indies conjures images of an abundance of fresh seafood and plentiful exotic fruits and vegetables, small islands are facing growing food insecurity due to a number of interlocking factors, the most salient being environmental degradation, changing climate and the increasing reliance on imports (FAO Stat 2013).

Alongside this, research has noted the problem of rising obesity and diet related ill-health associated with increasing consumption of salty and fatty foods (Sharma et al. 2008; Asfaw, 2008; Wall-Bassett et al. 2010; Goff et al. 2014, Schwiebbe et al. (2011). This rise echoes Kearney's (2010) observation that consumption patterns are changing on a global scale, particularly in parts of the world experiencing rapid transition and development through trade liberalisation and urbanisation. Concurrently, increased consumption of foods associated with diet related ill-health is often attributed to the changing food preferences of consumers, who are thought to be aspiring to 'modern' and 'Americanised' diets (Tull et al., 2013). Meals comprising conch, pear-bush hominy and crawfish salad, thus become replaced by fried variations such as crack' conch, chicken, canned goods and synthetic products.

Lamenting the loss of traditional diets based upon fresh seafood 'hominy', or traditionally milled corn 'grits'[1], concern is often met with efforts to promote food literacy, which is geared towards re-educating consumers as to the benefits of locally sourced foods prepared in traditional ways. However, rather than deciding which diets should be upheld or restored, this paper argues that research is needed to explore variation in food preferences across communities, in tandem with historical analysis of the dynamics of social, political, economic and environmental changes experienced over time. The role of research is, after all, to co-create knowledge that "matters to people" (Sayer, 2011), in informing less individualistic policy pathways for a food secure future. Such attention to the dynamics shaping food consumption is central to addressing the material, biological, cultural and social dimensions that shape the food system, if we are to take seriously the need for an 'ecological public health paradigm' (Lang and Rayner,2012) . This is no simple feat, for food often bears the signs of struggle over valued material and symbolic resources (Paddock, 2015, and 2016).

Exploring the policy problems of food insecurity and diet related ill-health that currently face the TCI, and the region more generally, this paper takes an ecofeminist position in seeking to unpack this notion that changing diets are the result of changing consumer tastes. By drawing on sociological perspectives that seek to connect micro, meso and macro level dynamics, the paper explores narratives expressed through group and individual interview accounts with women across the island archipelago. Doing so highlights the undercurrents of change that shape variations not only in their practices, but the tastes and preferences that policy discourses presume to guide the problematic consumption associated with ill-health, and are often mobilised to justify succumbing to the inevitable development force of commercialisation that undoubtedly undermines their food security. Providing a counter-narrative, islander accounts emphasise both tensions and potential solutions shared by food security, health and sustainability agendas.

[1] Grits and hominy are savoury dishes made with boiled corn meal, usually served for breakfast (akin to porridge) or mixed with seafood as part of a fuller lunch-time or evening meal.

2. Food insecurity and shifting diets

Diets across the Caribbean have been widely noted to have been increasingly formed of nutrient poor and fast-foods, which Sharma et al. (2008) suggest lead to the rise of chronic non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular disease and cancer. Moreover, the overweight and obese make up over half of the Caribbean population where childhood obesity is also growing in prevalence (Schwiebbe et al. 2011). This predicament often results in the call for intervention via public policy initiatives that target consumers to make better, more educated choices about the foods they purchase, prepare and eat. Asfaw (2008) contends, however, that a key reason for this shift towards diets comprised of foods considered poor in nutritional quality is the lack of fruits and vegetables available for consumption, with only one third of the sampled Caribbean countries understood to be able to meet the World Health Organization's recommended intake per capita. Indeed, there are problems of availability and affordability acting as barriers to the consumption of healthier foods, with increases of foreign imports commonly linked to these conditions.

FAO STAT (2013) cite CARICOM's food import bill increasing from US$2.08 billion in 2000 to US$4.25 billion in 2011. Not only impacting foreign exchange levels, social programmes, and displacing local production, FAO suggest there is a correlation between this rise in imports and the rise of obesity and non-communicable disease observed in the region (FAO 2015). Making a wider argument about the detrimental effects of such trends for climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies, Wilson (2015) suggests that the ways in which food and nutrition policy is grounded in corporate control of food and agriculture - Freidman and McMichael's (1989) 'food regime' (see also McMichael, 2009) - is a core culprit in the rise of food insecurity for Caribbean nations. As corporate food regimes displace local agriculture through the promotion of industrial agricultural practices, not only are carbon emissions increased, but come to increase reliance on imports from the United States. In turn, powerful vested interests are invited to the table, shaping decisions about what is imported, when, and at what price. In this way, the mounting social, ecological and economic effects of commoditization of food systems are considered highly visible in the Caribbean context. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Dewey (1989) found in her study of food systems and nutrition across the Caribbean and Latin America, that the greater the independence of a family from the market economy, the better off the family were in nutritional terms, particularly for those families with low cash incomes. Commoditization of food thus has direct effects in the substitution of traditional foods with purchased food, which, in turn, influence dietary diversity while also bringing dependency on foreign exchange. This latter effect is compounded by conditions of trade that are often unfavourable, leaving them in a position of comparative weakness in macro-economic policy terms.

In seeking to address the symptoms resulting from these issues, policy recommendations tend to err on the side of educating consumers to return to traditional, long-established modes of food preparation and eating, or for increasing the consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables in place of processed foods. Schwiebbe et al. (2011) suggest - in the case of childhood obesity in Bonaire - that healthy eating habits are to be stimulated through programmes based on physical activity. Sharma et al. (2008) recommend nutritional interventions that simply replace the most common sources of fat with lower fat or lower sugar alternatives, or encourage cooking methods that replace frying with steaming, grilling and stewing. However, we might question the premise of this problem representation; that consumers have made a conscious choice to eat in such ways that exacerbate these conditions of ill-health. Moreover, projects that assess the impact of various determinants on the potential for consumers to realise more sustainable diets (for example, Johnston et al. 2014) arrive at a similar conclusion, by suggesting that what is needed is to develop new and better metrics to enhance the effectiveness of marketing strategies aimed at encouraging the consumption of sustainable foods. While effective marketing and educational campaigns may form one part of the puzzle, wider influences shaping food consumption practices must be more fully understood. This demands a focus wider than consumption, urging us to look instead to the myriad modes of provision that serve the contemporary diet. Research questions might guide investigations into the kinds of foods that are affordable, accessible and appropriate to consume, and how this has changed over time.

This line of thinking is expanding in food security research. Sonnino et al. (2014) , in their call for a more systemic approach to food security research that expands beyond a focus on production, that has so far imparted explanations for issues related to availability and access of food, but at the expense of food utilization, as similarly noted by Ericksen (2008). Noack and Pouw (2015) have since maintained that unless we understand how food is utilised in a particular cultural or social context, we are ill-equipped to formulate effective solutions to problems of unaffordability, inaccessibility, inappropriateness and instability. Furthermore, I suggest that it is crucial to recognise how tastes and preferences are shaped, and how these are met by different food system configurations. This echoes Agarwal's (2014) argument that international development projects have suffered from lack of appreciation of communities' own vision(s) of the 'good life', which Li (2014) illustrates in her study of Lauje highland farmers and their transition into corporate agriculture on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi. Here, the farmers who switched to producing mon-cropped cacao allegedly did so without pressure from state or corporate actors, and was a choice that resulted from the desire for some material and social advancement. Although this did not lift these islanders from poverty, we can see that their intention might have been to exercise their right to ameliorate conditions of food insecurity and their relative detachment from broader society.

Further illustrating that what people want, and how they eat, is entangled with long trajectories of interlocking social, cultural, political and economic processes, Wilk (1999)

regales an incident in Belize, where the leader of the new People's United Party, George Price – elected once Belize was granted limited powers for self-governance from British rule – attempted to create a national cuisine as a means to push forward the project of decolonization. His popularity somewhat arose from promising equal access to the foods to which Belizeans had become accustomed. "Ham and eggs for all", he pledged. Demonstrating the intensity of attachment to such food, Wilk notes the public outcry at Price's later suggestion to decrease reliance upon imported goods by returning to traditional foods. 'Bush' foods, by then, were thought to symbolise a denial of social and economic progress.

These examples emphasise the need to account for the social and cultural dynamics underpinning food provisioning practice as a means to re-embed policy responses in the realities of everyday life. We might assume that such attention focused in this way would lead to alternative recommendations for policy response or avenues for further research. Conclusions beyond vague calls for awareness-raising or consideration of social as well as nutritional dimensions are, however, few and far between. This is surprising, given that it is well documented that there are myriad structural, institutional, social and cultural factors shaping the outcomes of initiatives and efforts that seek to change food procurement systems for both the public and private plate, and many opportunities, too (Morgan and Sonnino 2008; Moragues-Faus and Morgan 2015). Yet, while food and nutrition security research is alerted to this 'blind spot' (Noack and Pouw 2015) we are left wanting with regard to recommendations that go beyond targeting individual consumer behaviours. We could see this as an interpretive issue, where we might be lacking the tools to lead us to alternative analyses and diverse solutions. What do we do once we have asked what it is that people do and what they want? Do we simply ignore them and move on to recommend that they simply eat more fruits and vegetables, exercise more, and follow the latest advice as to what foods make up the sustainable food plate? Such a response assumes a linear relationship between attitudes and choices, a connection in need of further problematisation.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to report in fine detail the exact foods consumed by households across TCI, this research asked whether they are eating the foods they like, and about their aspirations for the future. Before outlining details of the methods of data collection used, the imperative is to explore the merits of an ecofeminist epistemological framework in overcoming policy problem framings dependent upon influencing 'consumer choices', and that are grounded in an understanding of *wants* as well as *needs*.

3. **Taking a methodological turn**

Paying attention to the call to bridge the gap between production-based and consumption-based accounts in research (Sonnino et al. 2014), I argue that the sociology of everyday life

and an ecofeminist epistemological lens can together offer a route to moving beyond 'affordability' and 'consumer choice' tropes, which have dominated contemporary policy agendas, particularly in public health (Dixon et al. 2014). This is important, for how a problem is framed shapes the response, and as Billings and Hermann (1998) argue, the problem itself.

As is comprehensively argued elsewhere by Warde (2005) and Shove (2010), there is a wealth of sociological theory that equips us to overcome the behaviourism that results from separating structure and agency as causal forces for social action (Giddens, 1984). Perhaps the most instructive of contemporary theories of everyday life to overcome this dualism is demonstrated by Warde's (2016) analysis of the practice of eating. Here, embodied habits, routines, dispositions and conventions are emphasised over orthodox 'behaviourist' models of actions. That is, everyday life practices and their performances by social actors are understood in connection with wider institutional, material and ecological processes at different scales over time. This approach is not unique to practice theory, but is well developed by Glucksmann's (2005) Total Social Organisation of Labour (TSOL) approach. This relational concept serves to explore the interconnections between different work activities – across processes from production to consumption, paid and unpaid work, market and non-market sectors, the relation between work and non-work activities as well as how these change or stabilise over time. These different modes of connection are taken seriously for their potential to explain transformations over time and offer ways of drawing comparisons across spaces and place. Given that workers are also consumers, it is from this point that Glucksmann (2014) develops a 'consumption work' lens. By identifying the different components of food work, she presents a comparative analysis of change in food provisioning systems over time, overcoming dualistic framings of production and consumption. Practice theory and the TSOL approach thus have in common the attention to systems and nodes of connection that coevolve in reproducing and changing everyday life practices. Missing, certainly from the practice theoretical perspective is attention to the gendered experience of everyday life in the context of sustainability challenges, and furthermore, issues of ill-health and food insecurity. This is rather surprising given that when it comes to provisioning the home with goods and services, women disproportionately carry this burden (Bee, 2014).

Ecofeminist analyses have since the 1970's drawn attention to the links between women and nature, both in celebration and in highlighting their subordination to patriarchal capitalist regimes. Here, women's work is seen to sit at the margins of public life, despite their labour being central to its reproduction (Mellor, 1997), as is access to the resources upon which they depend to effectively do so (Roucheleau et al. 1996). As indigenous and subsistence focused economies moved towards export-oriented commercial development, further critique of 'development' processes emerged (Shiva, 1989; Momsen, 2009).While earlier ecofeminist work can be seen as divided between celebratory perspectives and those

that accuse such an outlook of reproducing exploitative gender norms –a debate that need not be rehearsed here, see Sturgeon (1997) – we are now well placed to move on.

Ecofeminist analyses have since strived to consider the ways that sexism and ecology are linked in ways that reproduce unsustainable social, political, economic and environmental systems. Doing so, and noting the absence of both women themselves as well as their concerns, experiences and expertise in climate change debate, MacGregor (2010) points to both the reality that women are underrepresented in the fields that influence environmental policies. Moreover, climate change debates are dominated by masculinist discourses that render invisible the concerns of women, despite the burdens of environmental harm being disproportionately felt and dealt with by women (Sturgeon, 1997), while they are simultaneously most likely to also be caring for the world's poor, children and the elderly. Notwithstanding their experience, women's voices often not consulted in matters related to their expertise, and even become the target of policy interventions built on masculinist assumptions. For example, it is not difficult to see how behaviour change interventions that simply seek to educate consumers to eat more fruit and vegetables, without making these accessible, both blames impoverished women and mothers not simply for poor food choices, but makes them incomprehensibly responsible for a decline in food quality across whole national markets (Holm, 2003; Smith and Holm 2010). At the root of such symbolic violence is a lack of understanding of both the practices of daily life that have come to shape contemporary eating patterns, but also a lack of information about and *from* those who perform these very activities.

This paper offers an analysis of narratives pertaining to food practice, drawing methodologically from the sociology of everyday life, which is further underpinned by an ecofeminist epistemological framework. Specifically, an ecofeminist perspective makes connections between environmentalisms and feminisms (Merchant, 1992), recognising that the injustices that cause inequalities are the same that degrade and exploit the natural environment upon which we depend. The relationship between women and environment is complex and opened to criticism of essentialising women's experiences and of failing to take account of difference between women (Leach, 2007). Whether we agree that women have a unique or special relationship with nature or not - as Agarwal (1992) has famously argued – we can perhaps agree that women's knowledge and experience has been systematically marginalised by scientific and development practices by their exclusion as experts. By considering the concerns and vulnerabilities faced by TCI women in their struggles for resources that they face as the result of processes of commercialisation and globalisation, we are enlightened also to the opportunities that their narratives highlight. Crucially, this research is not conducted in a developing world context, but across an island archipelago that has experienced rapid development over the last thirty years with reorientation of the local economy towards further commercialisation of their fisheries. In this way, the TCI offers an analytic microcosm from which to understand the effects that market reorientation has for a population's foodways, and pays particular attention to the

experiences of the women who feed themselves and their families, and is an effort to address their lack of voice in environmental politics. Narratives are indeed one way through which to gain access to accounts of food practices and their relationship with macro and meso-level dynamics (Paddock, 2017).

To access consumer narratives of food practice, the paper draws on archival and contemporary documentary sources; 60 interviews across all islands with women, girls and some men and across social groups from permanent residents - those with what is termed 'belonger' status - and with Haitian and Dominican migrants. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish and French as appropriate. Two group interviews were conducted on South Caicos and Grand Turk with the womens' group 'Soroptomist International' in 2014.[2] Two group interviews were conducted - one with the Soroptomist group on Grand Turk and one on South Caicos - and individual interviews conducted with those who were not available to join the group discussion, yet expressed a wish to take part in the research.

4. Changing consumption, changing tastes?

To discern how food was framed in policy terms, interviews were conducted with senior civil servants in various government departments each dealing with a policy area cross-cutting food and eating; health, environment, social welfare, culture, economics planning and development, agriculture as well as tourism and gender affairs. Their narratives made clear their understanding of changes to food consumption practice, which they consider to be the result of changing tastes for convenience foods. Also common in their talk is the acknowledgement of the struggles faced by individuals and families in providing sufficient foods in the face of increasing food prices exacerbated by the islands' reliance upon imported food.

Indeed, over 90 percent of all food consumed on the islands (measured by financial value) is imported from, or via, the USA. Partly as the result of the fishery having been exploited to potentially unsustainable levels (Lockhart et al. 2007) and structural transition towards tourism and offshore finance, the majority of fish consumed on the islands is now imported (Baker et al. 2015). Nevertheless, local fish and seafood are highly sought-after, but under unprecedented threat, partly due to the over-exploitation of marine resources that has served export and domestic markets. Reconstructed fisheries catch data for the TCI presented by Ulman et al. (2016), captures all removals including catch destined for export, estimates of unreported catch for domestic commercial use, and for subsistence. They suggest that catch is more than double the baseline estimate, and far exceeds the national reported baseline submitted to the FAO (86 percent). These staggering figures suggest

[2] Soroptomist International is a global volunteer movement working to transform the lives of women and girls, through education and empowerment. In TCI, groups across Grand Turk and South Caicos meet at least twice a month to work towards this end.

troubling times ahead for the management of the TCI fishery, with potential management plans including the cessation of conch exports. With conch and lobster being the most important commercial species, it is presumed that fin-fish is mainly for local markets and subsistence consumption.

Yet, there is a widespread suggestion among the policy community that the diets of islanders have moved away from fish as well as seafood, and towards meats and processed foods. Crucially, this is framed as a choice resulting from newly cultivated tastes for "junk" and "convenience" foods. They suggest that such foods more readily accompany a modern lifestyle, particularly where women increasingly engage in paid work in the rapidly growing service sector, which is predominantly based on tourism. This rise in the employment of women outside of the home, is understood to have re-shaped domestic divisions of labour, thus increasing household reliance upon foods requiring less preparation, cooking and clearing up. Indeed, cleaning and gutting freshly caught fin-fish, drying and preserving conch and turning milled corn into gritz is the preserve of those with considerably more time and practical know-how than those employed in the contemporary labour market can spare. While this seems a plausible explanation of shifting diets – after all, the composition of meals have been historically subject to much change across time and space, this seems simplistic when we take into consideration the accounts of a generation of TCI women who have lived through these very changes. That is, while price and convenience is a consideration for these women and their families, as noted by Holm (2003) in her study of the Danish food market, it is not the dominant concern. Price matters, as does lack of time, but it matters *indirectly*.

Taking such assessments of shift in islanders' diets, interviews with residents are conducted with a view to establishing what they are eating, what they like to eat and how they perceive this to have changed over time. Contrary to the belief that islanders prefer convenience foods, we can see that those more readily associated with traditional diets are coveted, but troublingly difficult to access. Moreover, the fin-fish that scientific estimates suggest are consumed by islanders for subsistence and small scale commercial trade appears difficult to source, even for those closely aligned with the fishing industry.

4.1 Discernment, quality and provenance

Working within the limits of the current marketplace, interviewees present themselves as highly selective and discerning about the foods they consume. Emilia - aged 16 - speaks of her family's relocation from Haiti, where they were more readily able to access fresh fruits and vegetables. She favours a diet without meat, and since moving to TCI abstains where possible from eating canned foods. Speaking about tinned provisions - a mainstay of the island's food basket- Emilia recounts reading the list of additives itemised on a can of food

found in her mother's cupboard, stating that while some have grown accustomed to such provisions, she has not;

> "my parents have kind of adapted to the synthetics, but I still like, it feels wrong, like I'm just putting a pile of chemicals in me."
>
> Emilia, South Caicos.

This speaks similarly to issues of quality. While preserved foods typically line the shelves of the local food stores, which arrive by boat from the main island, having been previously shipped from Miami, they can often be found to be months or even years out of date. Further evidencing islanders' desire for fresh fruits and vegetables is the readiness with which they await the arrival of "the Dominican boat", which reaches the inhabited islands approximately every two weeks, or even as little as once a month from the Dominican Republic (DR) selling varieties of fresh fruits and vegetables, which are ordinarily unavailable or simply inaccessible for many islanders at affordable prices.

For example,Mae, originally from the DR eats a lot of rice, chicken and beans, but really likes to eat salad, plantain, corn, salsa and fish, but can only access these provisions when the "Dominican boat comes in". To address this shortfall, Mae used to grow a little of her own food; sweet potatoes, papaya, tomatoes. She ceased this practice around a year prior to interview, for the lack of rainfall often meant having to buy water, which she could ill afford. Mae, as with almost all Haitian and Dominican interviewees, as well as many 'belongers', state that they rely on the Dominican boat to provide access to fresh produce. However, this trade is unregulated and therefore lacking formal health and safety protection. For this reason, the more financially well-off islanders avoid sourcing their fresh foods in this way, whereas for many, it is their only source of fresh fruits and vegetables. Stocking up with produce from the Dominican boat secures ingredients for broths and stews, while fruit is prepared and frozen or preserved for consumption during intervening periods. Produce from the Dominican boats can also be found in small local convenience shops predominantly ran and frequented by Haitian and Dominican residents who are all too aware of the health risks associated with eating high fat and high sugar convenience or preserved foods.

In this way, not only is concern related to the ingestion of what many refer to as "unnatural chemicals", apprehension similarly arises over the genetic modification of food and use of growth hormones in food production. With reference to meat in particular, Laticia recounts a trip to the supermarket made over ten years previously. She had been living abroad and upon her return found herself in the local supermarket where she was not only surprised by the size of the chicken breast on sale, but, she says; "I was afraid, I thought it was a turkey". Concerns over the quality and provenance of imported meats arise across interviews, and are most saliently followed by discussion of foods they would prefer to be eating; fresh fish and seafood. More informal conversations with residents of Grand Turk and South Caicos expose concern that what can be bought in local stores are "full of chemicals" and are

"more expensive than before" and that they don't eat as much "natural foods" as they would like. Beatrice, for example, begins with an account of the foods she likes to eat, before qualifying that such foods can be prepared only if she can access them;

> "I try to be selective in what I eat. I like tuna, so I eat tuna quite a bit and fish. I like fish. If I can get fish, yeah, I will eat that every day because I like fish and I sometimes fry it and sometimes I boil it, like I do the chicken in low water with onions and peppers and stuff like that, and it's pretty good."
>
> Beatrice, Soroptomists, Providenciales.

It is not solely a problem of affordability, which I will explore this further below, but a problem of access. This dynamic is well established in analyses of the foodways of the Caribbean and West Indies, for colonial legacies continue to shape trade relations, as domestic goods are redirected to export or to serve the tourism industry that aims to satisfy visitors' tastes for 'terroir'. In TCI, this process has accelerated since the extension of the airport runway in 1984. While previously ships would bring fresh provisions from Canada, returning on the homeward voyage with salt, conch, and other fin-fish, the growth of travel and freight by air is widely understood to have accelerated trade relations with the US.

4.2 From 'making do' to commercialisation and trade

Referring to Jamaica Kincaid's '*A Small Place'* Houston (2007) points to the impacts upon local culture and foodways that are driven by imbalanced trade systems that emphasise export-led growth . Kincaid illustrates that goods such as sugar, coffee, cocoa and tobacco are typically taken from the Caribbean to be refined, processed and packaged before being sold back to them for the benefit of wealthier nations. In TCI, we can see such a dynamic unfolding around the time of the decline of the salt industry in the 1960's and the rise in export of 'spiny lobster' and 'queen conch' as facilitated by the many fish processing plants. Barb describes these as "the golden years", where the benefits to the local economy of exporting conch and lobster to Miami markets were clear. Fin-fish, conch and lobster are described as having been in abundance, bringing "so much money you couldn't count it" (Laura, South Caicos). Such days were numbered, for what is left of the conch and lobster fishery is destined for export or for consumption at the restaurants and resorts geared towards serving visitors on the island of Providenciales, whose demand for locally caught seafood has placed additional pressure upon TCI's marine resources (Klaus, 2001).

> "Nowadays though, these are so expensive, I had an experience over the weekend that I must never ever repeat. I told my family I was going to go cook some ochre and rice, you know we want, we put dry conch and ochre and rice, and I went to this lady who […] was going to Provo. How much were the conch? Oh, a bag is for $20. I got a bag, when I returned; four little conchs - four little conchs.
>
> Louisa, Grand Turk

This is compounded by the expense of other imported foods that have become a mainstay of the diet. Louisa recounts that a can of corned beef or carnation cream can reach up to ten

US dollars. This marks not only the accelerated commercialisation of their fishing industry, but and its effect upon islanders as they see a decline in quality and access .

> "Fish processing plants led to exports of fish. First there was one, then there was three. Five years ago you could get fish. Now you can't get them. Local fishermen now go to sell in Provo [Providenciales]. The fish here is expensive. You can sell a fish in Provo at 10 USD. Hardly ever get lobster anymore, it's too expensive, the fishermen do not give it to you. The plants get all the lobster. Fisherman are only interested in making money. It's more selfish than it was. They used to share fish but not anymore. There are days and weeks when you can't get fish, and the quality of food you get from the US is lower than when you buy it in the US"
>
> Soroptomists, South Caicos

Resisting the exploitative capitalist relations through 'making-do' is significant in Caribbean food cultures (Houston 2007: 107). Putting together dishes created from whatever one can find or catch, inventively adapting recipes in order to avoid waste, or by reusing and recycling items are all ways that women in TCI are 'making do.' Specifically, this finds expression in "pen on"; meaning that what is cooked depends on what fish or seafood is caught or brought home by a member of the family that day, and is typically accompanied by staples such as rice and gritz or other preserved, foraged or purchased items. Now, "pen on" takes a new meaning in that it depends on what you can afford, and depends on whether one can access any fish or seafood at all - "we don't get no fish no more" (Lucile, Grand Turk). Again, this is not solely a matter of price, but an issue of fish or seafood being far more difficult to access via local channels or markets.

> "Right now in South, it's easier to buy South Caicos fish abroad than to buy it on South Caicos because what the fishermen do, they will take it that that is their mark et of Provo, so you go down to the dock and you're standing out there, they're not paying you any mind because that is their market. You have the people who are selling the fish to Provo, they're at the dock, they're stationed at the dock, so when the boats come in, they just buy up the fish, so it's very difficult.
>
> Barbara, South Caicos

Indeed, not simply an issue of fish plants purchasing the majority of seafood catch, but dock-side middle-men who process catch to sell to resorts and restaurants across the islands. Roberta evokes memories of fishermen selling to women who would wait at the dock to purchase fish for their evening meal. At times, she recalls, fishermen would simply give fish away.

> "Caring fishermen have retired. Young fishermen are all about profit. Currently it is not easy to by fish as a fish-buyer at the docks buys it off the fishermen and then sends it to Provo."
>
> Roberta, South Caicos

As Bella relates below, such days are no more;

> "Can't get no fish. Even when you ask them for fish. You only will get a fish if you've got a dear friend and that friend got to know you too to offer you a slice of grouper or what have you. When I was growing up they came to your door with a big buggy of fish but not today, he will be down on the dock. And sell the fish. My fish for Provo, [the fishermen say] I get dollars for that. That's what they always tell you, they won't even get the head off it."
>
> Bella, South Caicos

Indeed, fishermen would at one time to sell directly to consumers, whereas Bella now feels that one needs a "dear friend" in the industry to procure freshly caught fish. Women who have close family and partners who are fishermen speak of obtaining fresh fish once a month at the most. Grace, an interviewee residing on Provienciales, claims that if she wants to eat a piece of local fish, she goes to a restaurant, where she pays at least 25 US dollars a plate. For consumption at home, staples listed regularly include pork, chicken and beef. Crucially, meat is not novel to the TCI diet. On Grand Turk, un-tethered cows once roamed the island feeding on grass. Pigs were once raised on South Caicos, and it was common to keep domestic chickens for their eggs. These accounts confound a prominent popular and policy discourse that agriculture is impossible on these islands due to harsh tropic weather and the chalky, salty, limestone terrain. Despite these conditions, accounts reveal that tomatoes, squash and corn were cultivated not only on the more fertile grounds of the "bread basket islands" of North and Middle Caicos, but even on Providenciales and the "salt islands" of Grand Turk and South Caicos. Moreover, before land was parcelled for development into condominiums, hotels and golf courses, Gwinnie speaks of how she and her parents before her cultivated an allotment that served their need for fresh foods. This is not a memory shared only by Gwinnie. Each of the senior citizens interviewed speak of rearing animals and growing produce as fundamental parts of their childhood and young adulthood, with imported fresh goods and other provisions imported from Jamaica and Haiti. As Lydia recounts;

> In those days we mostly had fish, lobster and conch. It wasn't where there were plants those days, it was open for islanders as that's what we mostly live off, and a lot of persons, like my Aunt Mrs. Simpson, they had cows, they slaughter their cows and sell the beef. They rear pigs, chickens, and we live off the sea and they have the animals on the land and keep it on their surroundings so they would be clean and everything, but they still had someone to see to it that they were slaughtered and all was well, and sold to families. They would know when there was a slaughter and then they would go there and buy their meat. Way back when there was just a few people with refrigerators so everything was fresh and the thing about it, most people reared their own chickens so a chicken was your good Sunday dinner. There was not much refrigeration.
>
> *How many chickens did people keep?*
>
> As many as their coops could hold, they have little ones and grow up but then they had them and it was their food, eggs, those days we didn't have any imports, people had what they wanted in their yards. I can remember my Mom used to get her tomatoes from, she used to like to grow stuff and a lot of what she grew she used in the house. Tomatoes and stuff like that.

When asked when and why these practices ceased to exist, they recall hotel development, the arrival of tourists and imports from the US needed to meet commensurate increased demand for food. That is, the arrival of this sector goes hand-in-hand with the reorientation of the local economy towards serving tourism. As islanders serve drinks and clean hotel kitchens and bathrooms, they struggle with the rising cost of food. Adding insult to injury is the assumption that educating consumers to make better choices will solve problems of diet related ill-health, while neglecting to attribute such problems with issues of growing food insecurity.

5. Discussion: Education to realign food tastes?

These accounts are not intended to present a sentimental picture of past food practice, or to suggest that this paper offers an original analysis of the trajectories of dependence experienced by small islands across the Caribbean and West Indies. Rather, this article puts forward accounts of women who are living with the effects of environmental, social and economic change across one small island archipelago – the Turks and Caicos Islands (TCI). Their memories and experiences offer nuanced interpretation of current problem framings surrounding food and ill-health. In turn, these serve to clear a pathway for policy interventions that could together address problems of non-communicable disease on the one hand, and food insecurity on the other. Indeed, the data presented here suggests that current policy assumptions are misguided, and even offensive. A key misgiving is that at the root of diet related ill-health of islanders is their taste for highly processed, salty, fatty and sugary foods. Contrary to this assumption, this data suggests that such foods are consumed due to the lack of access to "natural foods" such as fish, seafood, vegetables and fruit. The lengths to which many islanders go to source these ingredients are testament to their determination to protect both their health *and* a culturally appropriate diet in the face of the economic and social changes that have clearly impacted upon their access to such foods.

It would indeed be a simple argument to make; that if one wants to encourage people to eat better foods, one should make appropriate foods available and affordable. Literature and research surrounding food sovereignty and food security is abound with recognition of the rights of communities, regions and nations to define their own food systems in ways that suit their own visions of a good life (see Patel, 2009). How a sustainable food system can be promoted, given the power of the global agri-food complex, raises questions as to how we move into such a new paradigm (Marsden and Morley, 2014) and towards an ecological public health (Lang and Rayner, 2012). However, it seems that in TCI, the reliance upon imports is maintained by the denial of agricultural development, which in turn serves to justify the trade relations that deepen the islands' dependence on expensive imported foods (Paddock and Smith, 2017). Adding to this is the symbolic violence of blaming consumers for what they have no choice but to consume, for a dynamic that is thought to drive the so-called demand for poor quality 'Americanised' foods. Rather, the narratives of the senior-citizens interviewed offer a means of unlocking such discursive processes of denial, for they are a reminder of TCI's agricultural past, which is now overshadowed by economic development focused upon tourism and finance. In this way, and as interviews with younger generations attest, changes in consumer *practice* should not be conflated with changing *tastes*. By simply asking what it is that participants across islands like to eat, asking what their favourite foods are and what do they like to cook, narratives connect macro to micro and past to present, suggesting new possible policy solutions that do not blame consumers for poor choices. Instead, policies might concentrate on expanding what is currently a limited marketplace dominated by poor quality imports, perhaps by making local produce available , and by striving to ensure that imported produce is culturally appropriate, and serves social wants as well as needs It is imperative that these wants are not assumed,

but understood relative to ecological, political and economic conditions. Indeed, in the same way as Loring and Gerlach (2009) examine the interaction between ecological, political and social changes in influencing changes from traditional to store-bought foods in Alaska, this paper does not delineate the full extent and manner of changes in food systems and their effect upon TCI islanders, but instead identifies one of the many ways in which a food system has undermined valued ways of life, health and wellbeing. Moreover, while this paper does not identify one clear policy solution, it does point towards the symbolic violence manifesting in problem framings surrounding issues of food insecurity and diet related ill-health, which obstruct pathways towards more equitable and appropriate food secure futures for islanders living with the problems that result from social, economic and environmental change. In unpacking this symbolic violence, several avenues for further research for better policy development are uncovered, as I set out below.

The first is securing a middle ground between the promotion of traditional foods and their contemporary counterparts, while also recognising the need for endogenous food system developments to decrease reliance on inappropriate food imports. Given that food provisioning practice is shaped by global and local trade regimes, charging consumers with responsibility for revolutionising the food system over which they have little control is simply unreasonable, and worse still, ineffective. Just as Guthman (2011) points to the political ecology of obesity when calling for political solutions over impugning choices of consumer, this paper suggests that the voices of these TCI women attest to the need for science and policy to work together to craft solutions to address their problems and concerns. The second is the call for more scientific research to capture the reliance of all islanders – paying attention to the needs and wants of socially differentiated groups (see Smith-Maguire, 2016) - upon fisheries outside of the benefits they may or may not see from the further commercialisation of their fisheries.

In this way, it seems unreasonable to suggest that consumers no longer eat fish because they don't like it, or because they prefer the taste of convenience foods more readily associated with American diets and expedient modes of preparation. If there are aspects favoured of convenience foods, it is the convenience rather than the food itself. Arguably, it is reasonable to enjoy relief from the hard work of milling corn or gutting and cleaning fish. For those who have little time for food preparation due to work or other commitments, it does not follow that the only option for promoting healthy and sustainable consumer lifestyles is that those who already carry an unfair share of domestic work return to more laborious food provisioning work. Furthermore, it seems incongruous to suggest that the future of agriculture is denied on the basis that it has been historically difficult (it is now acknowledged that ecological conditions can be overcome by new knowledge and equipment) or that it is offensive to suggest that a population that carries the cultural burden of plantation slavery return to 'toil' on the land.

The challenge is to find the middle ground between maintaining access to traditional foods and preserving the benefits of what were labour intensive cooking methods on the one hand, and processed poor quality and expensive imported foods on the other. People's taste for fish and more traditional foods should not mean that they must be prepared to spend more time the kitchen, or to become dependent on the unpredictability of subsistence farming and fishing. Instead, there may be an alternative way to ensure access to valued, healthy sources of food that can be secured in affordable ways. Elsewhere, Paddock and Smith (2017) have argued that fairer trade might be promoted alongside agricultural development. This paper argues TCI islanders are rapidly losing access to a fishery valued not only for the livelihoods that their export oriented and artisanal fishery supports, but for local consumption.

Crucially, this finding adds qualitative evidence in support of the conclusions of Ulman et al. (2016). That is, having reconstructed fisheries catch data, they find that marine resources are being exploited at an alarmingly unsustainable rate. This data has prompted discussions with the TCI Department for Environment and Maritime Affairs about moving beyond seasonal closure of the conch and lobster fishery and even towards an export cessation of up to five years. Indeed, one might argue that if fisheries resources are depleted to such an extent, that one should be consuming less altogether, but given the difficulties that would result from regulating a ban on landings for domestic commercial trade or subsistence consumption, this could offer an opportunity for endogenous fisheries development that would deliver benefit to residents and not only tourists. Indeed, small scale fishing activities are widely considered to alleviate poverty and are actively encouraged (Allison and Horemans, 2006; Béné, 2003), for it is rarely artisanal fishers that are responsible for fisheries degradation, given that their methods are considered more efficient and sympathetic to the marine environment than their industrial counterpart (Mansfield, 2011). Indeed, to consider the redistribution of marine resources in ways that balance economy, ecology and society offers a more promising solution to problems of food insecurity and diet-related ill health than targeting individual consumer choice in constrained commercial circumstances.

Conclusion

This paper has presented data collected in order to explore the needs and wants of islanders living with food insecurity, and rising levels of diet related ill-health characteristic of the region. Having laid out the ways on which these problems are often framed in both the research literature and policy discourse as problems of individual consumer choice, the paper has taken an ecofeminist stance to consider how the experience of feeding oneself and one's family has affected the lives of some women living across the Turks and Caicos Islands. In doing so, this paper debunks myths consumers want 'convenience' or 'junk' foods widely considered of poor quality and detrimental to human health. Instead, we can find in

their narratives the desire to eat foods that might be considered rather closely aligned with a more traditional seafood and fish based diet, but that for reasons attributable to the commercialisation of their fishery, and the redirection of the local economy to tourism, there is little that enables access to this nutritionally and culturally important foodway. This is the result of anything but a consumer choice.

Acknowledgments

This project was funded by DEFRA's DARWIN Initiative (E1DCF010) 'Biodiversity for Food Security: Developing Collaborative Policy for Seagrass Conservation' in September 2012 and by the Cardiff University Seedcorn Fund 'Women and food insecurity across a small island archipelago' in 2014. With special thanks to Susan Baker, Alastair Smith, Edward Hind-Ozan, Jessica Hind-Ozan, all at the School for Field Studies (South Caicos), and the Department for Environment and Maritime Affairs, for supporting this fieldwork. I am also grateful to all participants that shared their experience of life on TCI.

References

Agarwal, B. (1992) 'The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India', Feminist Studies, Vol. 18 (1): 119-58.

Agarwal, B. (1997) Gender, environment, and poverty interlinks: Regional variations and temporal shifts in rural India, 1971–1991, World Development. 25 (1):23-52.

Agarwal, B. 2014. Food sovereignty, food security and democratic choice: critical contradictions, difficult conciliations. Journal of Peasant Studies. 41 (6): 1247-68.

Allison, E.H. and Ellis, F. (2001) The livelihoods approach and management of small-scale fisheries. Marine Policy 25: 377-388.

Asfaw, A. (2008) Fruits and vegetables availability for human consumption in Latin American and Caribbean countries: Patterns and determinants, Food Policy. 33 (5): 444–454.

Bacchi, C. L. 2009. Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to Be? Frenchs Forest NSW: Pearson.

Baker, S. Paddock, J., Smith,A., Unsworth,R., Hertler, H. and Cullen-Unsworth, C. (2015) An Ecosystems Perspective for Food Security in the Caribbean: Seagrass Meadows in the Turks and Caicos Islands, Ecosystem Services. 11:12-21.

Bee, B. (2014) ''Si no comemos tortilla, no vivimos:'' women, climate change, and food security in central Mexico, Agriculture and Human Values 31 (4):607–620.

Béné, C. (2003) When fishery rhymes with poverty: a forst step beyond the old paradigm on poverty in small-scale fisheries. World Development. 31 (6): 949-975.

650 Billings, R., and Hermann, C. (1998) Problem Identification in Sequential Policy Decision
651 Making: The Re-representation of Problems. In: Sylvan D and Voss J (eds) Problem
652 Representation in Foreign Policy Decision-Making. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
653 53-79.

654 Bourdieu, P. (1990) The logic of practice. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press.

655 Carolan, M. (2013) reclaiming food security. London: Earthscan.

656 DeVault M., (1991) Feeding the family: the social organization of caring as gendered work.
657 Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

658 Dewey, K. (1989) Nutrition and the commoditation of food systems in Latin America and the
659 Caribbean, Social Science & Medicine. 28 (5) : 415-424.

660 Dixon, J., Carey, G., Strazdins, L., Banwell, C., Woodman, D. Burgess, J, Bittman, M. Venn, D.
661 and Sargent, G. (2014) Contermporary contestations over working time: time for health to
662 weigh in. BMC Public Health. 14: 1068.

663 Ericksen, P.J. (2008) Conceptualizing food systems for global environmental change research.
664 Global Environmental Change, 18: 234-235.

665 Evans, D. (2011) Blaming the consumer – once again: the social and material contexts of
666 everyday food waste practices in some English households. Critical Public Health. 21: 429-
667 440.

668 FAO (2013) FAO Statistical Yearbook, World Food and Agriculture, ISBN 978-92-5-107396-4.

669 FAO (2015) The state of food insecurity in the CARICOM Caribbean. ISBN 978-92-5-108964-4.

670 Friedmann, H. and P. McMichael. 1989. Agriculture and the state system: the rise and fall of
671 national agricultures, 1870 to the present. Sociologia Ruralis. 29(2): 93–117.

672 Giddens, A. (1984) The constitution of society: introduction of the theory of structuration.
673 Oakland, University of California Press.

674 Glucksmann, M. (2014) Bake or buy? Comparative and theoretical perspectives on divisions
675 of labour in food preparation work. Anthropology of Food, 10: 1-16.

676 Glucksmann, M. (2005) Shifting boundaries and interconnections: Extending the 'total social
677 organisation of labour'. The Sociological Review. 19-35.

678 Goff, L., Timbers, L., Style, H., Knight, A. (2014) Dietary intake in Black British adults; an
679 observational assessment of nutritional composition and the role of traditional foods in UK
680 Caribbean and West African diets, Public Health Nutrition. 18(12): 2191–2201.

681 Gronow, J. and Warde, A. (2001) Ordinary consumption. London: Routledge.

682 Guthman, J. (2011) Excess consumption or overproduction> US farm policy, global warming
683 and the bizarre attribution of obesity, in R. Peet. P. Robbins and M.J. Watts (Eds.) Global
684 Political Ecology. London: Routledge. 51-66.

685 Holm, L. (2003) Blaming the consumer: On the free choice of consumers and the decline in
686 food quality in Denmark, Critical Public Health. 13 (2):139-154.

687 Houston, L.M. 2007. "Making Do": Caribbean Foodways and the Economics of Postcolonial
688 Literary Culture. MELUS 32 (4): 99-113.

689 Johnston, J., Fanzo, J., Cogill, B. (2014) Understanding sustainable diets: a descriptive
690 analysis of the determinants and processes that influence diets and their impact on health,
691 food security, and environmental sustainability, Advances in Nutrition: An International
692 Review Journal. 5 (4):418-429.

693 Klaus, D. (2001) Baseline assessment of commercially viable finfish for future management
694 in the TCI. Thesis, BA, Claremont Colleges.

695 Lang, T. and Rayner, G. (2012) Ecological public health: the 21st century's big idea? The BMJ
696 345:5466.

697 Leach, M. (2007) Earth Mother Myths and Other Ecofeminist Fables: How a Strategic Notion
698 Rose and Fell. Development and Change 38(1):67–85.

699 Li, T. 2015. Can there be food sovereignty here? Journal of Peasant Studies. 42 (1):205-211.

700 Lockhart, C., de Fontaubert, C., Clerveaux, W. (2007)Fisheries of the Turks and Caicos Islands:
701 Status and threats. Proceedings of the 58th Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute, 66-71.

702 Loring P.A, and Gerlach, S.C. (2009) Food, culture, and human health in Alaska: an
703 integrative health approach to food security, Environmental Science and Policy. 12:466–478.

704 MacGregor, S. (2010) A stranger silence still: the need for feminist social research on climate
705 change, The Sociological Review. 57 (2):124-140.

706 Mansfield, B. (2011) "Modern" industrial fisheries and the crisis of overfishing, in R. Peet. P.
707 Robbins and M.J. Watts (Eds.) Global Political Ecology. London: Routledge. 84-99

708 Marsden, T. and Morley, A. (2014) Sustainable food systems: Building a new paradigm.
709 Routledge: Earthscan.

710 McMichael, P. (2009) A food regime genealogy. Journal of Peasant Studies, 36 (1):, 139-169.

711 Mellor, M. (1997) Feminism and ecology. Cambridge: Polity.

712 Merchant, C. (1997) Earthcare: Women and the environment. London: Routledge.

713 Momsen, J. (2009) Gender and development. Oxon: Taylor & Francis.

714 Moragues-Faus, A. and Morgan, K. (2015) Reframing the foodscape: the emergent world of
715 urban food policy. Environment and Planning A. 47: 1558– 1573.

716 Morgan K, Sonnino R, 2008 The School Food Revolution: Public Food and the Challenge of
717 Sustainable Development. London: Earthscan.

718 Noack, A.L. and Pouw, N.R.M. (2015) A blind spot in food and nutrition security: where
719 culture and social change shape the local food plate. Agriculture and Human Values. 32 169-
720 182.

721 Paddock, J. 'Positioning Food Cultures: Alternative Food as Distinctive Consumer Practice',
722 ***Sociology.*** 50 (6) pp.1039-1055.

723 Paddock, J. (2015) 'Invoking Simplicity: 'Alternative' Food and the Reinvention of Distinction',
724 ***Sociologia Ruralis*** 55 (1) pp.22-40.

725 Paddock, J. (2017) 'Household Consumption and Environmental Change: Rethinking the
726 Policy Problem through Narratives of Food Practice', ***Journal of Consumer Culture*** 17(1) 122-
727 139.

728 Paddock, J and Smith, A. (2017) 'What Role for Trade in Food Sovereignty? Insights from a
729 Small Island Archipelago' ***Journal of Peasant Studies***. Online first.
730 http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/GpQMrmgDheB8B3jjvgNx/full

731 Reckwitz, A. (2002) Toward a Theory of Social Practices A development in culturalist
732 theorizing. European Journal of Social Theory. 5: 243-263.

733 Roucheleau, D., Thomas-Slayter, B.,Wangari, E. (1996) Feminist political ecology. London:
734 Routledge.

735 Sayer, A. (2011) Why things matter to people: Social science, values and ethical life.
736 Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

737 Schatzki, T. (2010) Site of the Social: A Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social
738 Life and Change: Penn State Press.

739 Schatzki, T., Knorr Cetina, K., Savigny, E. (2001) The practice turn in contemporary theory.
740 London: Routledge.

741 Schwiebbe, L., Talma, H., Renders, C., Visser, R., Kist-van Holthe J.E., HiraSing R.A., (2012)
742 High prevalence of hypertension in obese children in the Caribbean, Paediatrics and
743 International Child Health. 32 (4):204-7.

744 Sharma, S., Cao, X., Harris, R., Hennis, A. J. M., Wu, S-Y., Leske, M. C. (2008) Assessing
745 dietary patterns in Barbados highlights the need for nutritional intervention to reduce risk of
746 chronic disease, Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics 21 (2) :150-158.

747 Shiva, V. (1989) Staying alive. London: Zed Press.

748 Shove, E. (2010) Beyond the ABC: climate change policy and theories of social change.
749 Environment and Planning A. 42: 1273-1285.

750 Shove, E. Pantzar, M. and Watson, M. (2012) The dynamics of social practice: Everyday life
751 and how it changes. London, Sage.

752 Smith, L. and Holm, L. (2010) Social class and body management. A qualitative exploration of
753 differences in perceptions and practices related to health and personal body weight,
754 Appetite 55 (2010) 311–318.

Smith-Maguire, J. (2016) Introduction: Looking at Food Practices and Taste across the Class Divide, Food, Culture and Society. 19 (1):11-18.

Sonnino, R. Moragues-Faus, A. and Maggio, A. (2014) Sustainable Food Security: An Emerging Research and Policy Agenda. International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food. 21 (1):173–188.

Sturgeon, N. (1997) Ecofeminist Natures: Race, gender, feminist theory and political action. Oxon: Routledge.

Tull, E. S., Cort, M. A., Taylor, J., Wickramasuriya, T. (2013) Understanding the relative influence of attitudes and societal norms on dietary intentions among African-Caribbean women. Social Science Journal. 50 (4):583-590.

Ulman, A., Burke, L., Hind, E., Ramdeen, R., and Zeller, D. (2016) Conched out: total reconstructed fisheries catches for the Turks and Caicos Islands uncover unsustainable resource usage. Frontiers in marine Science 3 (71) 1-9.

Wall-Bassett, E., Gerard, P., Kunkel, M. (2010) Food consumption patterns of children in Dominican schools. Topics in Clinical Nutrition. 25 (1) : 60-69.

Warde, A. (2005) Consumption and theories of practice, Journal of Consumer Culture, 5 (2) pp. 131-153.

Warde, A. (2016) The practice of eating, John Wiley & Sons.

Wilk, R. (1999)"Real Belizean food": Building local identity in the transnational Caribbean, American Anthropology. 101 (2): 244-245.